
THE
ADVANTAGES
OF
POLITICKS, &c.

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THE

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POLITICS

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THE
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OF
POLITICKS
TO THIS
NATION:

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To every POLITICIAN that can
Read.

Mors for civilibus undis. Hor.

L O N D O N:

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®

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To every Politician that can
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Major Andrew Smith. Fort.

LONDON:
Printed for J. Poole at Luck's Head in Pall-Mall.
Per-Ram. 1729.

(I)

T H E

Advantages of POLITICKS
to this Nation, &c.

WITHOUT inquiring into the Cause, we may affirm it as a certain Truth, that the Island of *Great Britain* is more fertile in Politicks, than any other Part of the known World. It has been doubted by many Wise Men, whether this our Native Commodity has not been a greater Misfortune, than Blessing to the Kingdom. But, I shall endeavour to remove this unreasonable Scruple, by laying before the World some of the many Advantages, which accrue to the Nation

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from this publick Spirit, which runs through every Degree of the People. All these Politicians, as may be undeniably proved from their own Professions, are zealously attached to the publick Welfare: Most of them are willing, beyond their Abilities, to serve in any publick Employments, and are even angry if they are not imploy'd; and not a few are so generous, as to neglect their own Concerns, to promote the Good of their Country.

Before I enter on the Task proposed, I shall premise something concerning the Numbers, Quality, Education and Employment of these consummate Statesmen.

In most other Countries, there are not above ten or a dozen Persons of choice Genius, and long Experience, concerned in the Management of the Pub-

Publick, while the rest of the People mind their Business: In *Great Britain*, there is scarce that Number that mind their own Business, so much as the Management of the Publick. It is surprising to observe what a noble Zeal animates all Ages, Sexes, and Professions, to reform Abuses in the State; and with what uncommon Warmth, old Men and Maidens, young Men and Children, engage in this great and glorious Undertaking. I never heard it computed how many Politicians there may be in this Nation, but I think a certain Rule may be established for Discovery of their Numbers. If the *Royal Society* would be so good as to inform us, what Number of Souls there are in it, and how many of them are under two Years of Age, the Business is done; for take the last from the first, and the Remainder is the Sum required. I choose to exclude these Youngsters

from their Share in Politicks, because they cannot plainly declare what Party they are of, nor can we be assured of their Sentiments from their Expressions. I confess indeed that, though they cannot speak their Minds freely, yet they may (and very often do) intimate by Signs, what Interest they espouse, and whether they are Friends or Enemies to the Administration. On this Account, if any one shall be of Opinion that they ought to be received into the List, I shall not greatly oppose it, since it will ease the Calculation, by making the Number of Politicians the same with that of the Inhabitants of the Island.

Would it not amaze a Stranger, unacquainted with our present State, to be informed, that every Man in *Great Britain* can talk admirably on any political Subject; and that there are scarce any, but

but dedicate some Part of every Day to the Settling of the Nation? That this Science extends it self universally to all Orders of Men; and that they are often best versed in that Part of it, which seems most foreign to their own Callings. It is no uncommon Thing for a Clergyman to make War, or a Lawyer Peace: For a Physician to understand the political, as well as animal OEconomy; and to know when Lenitives, Purgatives, or Bleeding would be of Service to the State: An Alderman shall fortify a Town, or fight a Battle; and an Officer of the Army explain a Treaty of Commerce, or reform the Doctrines of the Church: A young Nobleman, who has passed most of his Time at Plays and Assemblies, shall decide as confidently on the Rights of Nations, as if he had made *Puffendorf* and *Grotius* his only Study; and shall think himself capable of judging of every Thing,

Thing, because he was born to be a Judge. In short, not only Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants, are skilled in Policy, but all Tradesmen, Labourers and Mechanicks: A Taylor can cut out Work for the Ministry, and a Shoemaker set the Constitution a better Foot: A Carpenter can erect a new Form of Government, and a Bricklayer place the old one on a surer Foundation. A *British* Porter, or Chairman, is generally as able a Statesman, as a Count or Marquis of another Nation. Sometimes the Women understand Matters of Government better than their Husbands, and often set them right when they are mistaken. Would not, I say, a Stranger be amazed at all this? Would he not wonder how Persons without Genius, Learning, or Experience, should arrive at this Proficiency? And would he not conclude they were inspired? But we, who are Politicians, know that it does
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not proceed from Inspiration, but is owing to good Education and Example.

When I consider the Education of a modern Statesman, I cannot but reflect on the Thanks that are due to his Mother; and am apt to ascribe the Figure, which a zealous Patriot makes to her Care of his tender Years. Who can sufficiently admire or applaud the Discretion of many Parents, who are more solicitous that their Children should be early instructed in Policy, than either in Morality or Religion. They imbibe Patriotism, whilst they hang at the Breast, and the first Ideas they receive are of a publick Nature. They are taught to entertain a Friendship for the Leaders of their own Side, and an Aversion for those of the opposite. If Master is naught, he is to be delivered over to a prime Minister of State; and if he is Good, he is some Time or other to be one himself.

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Before he knows his Christian Name, he can tell the Name of his Party; can repeat his political Creed better than that of the Apostles; and is confirmed in his State-Principles, long before he is fit to be confirmed by the Bishop. What Fruit may we not expect from Seeds thus early Sown? especially when we consider the Pains that are taken to cultivate and improve them. When the young Gentleman or Lady (for both are equally Politicians) are fit to appear in the World, they are advised to associate with People of sound (that is the same) Principles; and to regard the rest of Mankind as Monsters of the Species. They are not only, like *Jews*, to marry in their own Tribe, but are forbid under severe Penalties to converse out of it. The young Gentleman's Tutor must be a Person of sound Principles, and so must his Taylor and Barber. The same may be said of Miss's Dancing Master and Sempstress.

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The Butcher, Brewer, Grocer, Mercer, &c. must be all Staunch, and no Matter whether their Commodities are good, so that their Principles are sound. Our young Politicians, observing every one valued amongst their Acquaintance in Proportion to his Zeal, resolve to raise their own Reputation the same Way; become furious and outrageous in a Cause they never examined; and extremely prejudic'd against Persons they have not the Honour to know. Thus their publick Virtues eclipse those which adorn private Life, and the Man is lost in the Patriot.

A Politician being thus instructed, let us view him on the Stage of Life, and consider the Part he acts in it. He is always very busy, and has nothing to do; concerns himself in every Thing, and yet has a Hand in Nothing. He is a prime Minister in every Country of the known
C World,

World, but his favourite Care is the Island of *Great Britain*. As he has the Interest of his Country always at Heart, he is always solicitous to know what passes in it. This makes him apply himself to the Study of *Modern History*; and I may venture to affirm there is no Place where he can have so good Opportunities of Information. There is scarce a Country Town, or a Street in *London*, without a Coffee-House, which may be regarded as a publick College for Politicians: These Colleges are all furnished with *Daily* and *Weekly Volumes* of the publick State of *Europe*; and private Intelligence flows into them from all Quarters. There is besides generally in each of these Colleges, a publick Orator or Professor; whom long Attendance in the College, strong Lungs, or good Assurance, have advanced to that Dignity; and whose Harangues have frequently admirable Effects on the Zeal and Credulity of his

(II)

Disciples. Every Man is admitted into these Colleges on easy Terms, and for two Pence may read and hear a Lecture, which shall make him understand as much of the publick State of Affairs, as any of his Neighbours. There is no Place, where the secret Method of conveying Intelligence is more easily learned, or is better practised: I have known a great Officer displaced by a Whisper, have seen the State of the Nation deplored by turning up the Eye, and a Shrug set all *Europe* in a Flame. But this is not the chief Use of the Institution of these Colleges, nor the principal Employment of its Members; which I take to consist in examining all Transactions, and passing their definitive Sentence on them: Sometimes to draw Conclusions from Facts which never happen'd, and to foresee Events which are never likely to happen: Always to censure the Proceedings of the Ministry and Parliament, and to

C 2 rectify

rectify their Errors and Abuses : And Lastly, to engage in all Disputations, publick and private, on all Subjects, both Foreign and Domestick. As there is generally much Knowledge to be collected from these Disputations, so I must confess they are sometimes attended with Inconveniencies. Every College maintains Principles, which are not readily comprehended by the Members of another College. *St. James's* is as distant from *Garraway's* in Opinion, as Situation ; what is Logick at the *Cocoa-Tree* is not so at *Button's* ; and a Maxim at *Child's* is a Paradox at the *Græcian* : So that when Members of different Colleges happen to meet, their Disputes sometimes rise so high, that for want of a Moderator at Hand, the Respondent is run thro' the Body by the Opponent. This is a great Inconvenience ; but let us shift the Scene to one more agreeable, and shew the many Advantages of Politicks to the Nation,

tion, which is the main Design of this Treatise.

And here, because I love Method in an Author, I shall endeavour to observe some my self. I shall first consider the Advantages of Politicks, with Regard to the Politician himself, and then with Regard to the Publick.

The first and great Advantage to the Politician is this; that publick Zeal supplies the Place of all other Virtues, and covers all Imperfections: Like Riches, it makes a Man Wise, Good, Honourable, Brave, Eloquent, and what not: It is a beautifying Wash, which clears the ill Complexion of his Actions; and the only infallible *Nostrum* that can make him amiable in the Eyes of his Party. A Politician may break an Oath, and yet be a Person of Honour; he may refuse to pay his Debts, and be the honestest Fel-

Fellow in the World: I have known a Man, who never went to Church, a Support of it; and a Traitor, an Ornament to the State: I have known Debauchees, common Swearers, and Sharpers, Men of exceeding good Principles; and don't despair to see a Highwayman, or Knight of the Post, a Patriot. This Gentleman shall have an Indulgence to keep a Whore, if he will but declaim against the *Whore of Babylon*; and that to be a Tyrant in his Family, if he will be but a Slave to his Party. When you ask a Man's Character, you do not desire to be informed, whether he is faithful to his Friend, grateful to his Benefactor, kind to his Neighbour, compassionate to the Distressed, but how he voted at the last Election; and when you inquire if a Man is honest, it is not now commonly understood, whether he can drink three Bottles at a Sitting, but whether he goes as you would have him in the House. In fine, Vir-
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tue does not consist as formerly in a *Medium*, but shines forth brightest in extremes: Moderation is the only Crime, and the only good Quality is Zeal.

Another Advantage of political Zeal to the Owner, is, that it is the shortest Way of becoming eminent: It requires much Time and Application, to gain a Character in any learned Profession; and a seven Years Apprenticeship is necessary before a Man can exercise a Trade: But any one may set up for a Politician, whenever he pleases, and may grow famous in an Instant. No Matter for his Head, the only Stock requisite is a warm Heart, strong Lungs, and a *Corinthian* Front; and if he is well furnished with these, he cannot fail of Admirers. Why are so many Men of good Parts and Morals neglected; is it not because they want these Accomplishments? And why are so many without Morals or Parts cared for;

ressed; is it not because they abound in
 them? Many a Man in the World owes
 all the Reputation he has in it, to some
 lucky Opportunity of exerting these Ta-
 lents. I have known several, who would
 have always lived in Obscurity, had they
 not signalized themselves by their Noise
 at an Election: And though unknown
 before, have had their Healths drank
 throughout the County, only for disturb-
 ing the Peace of it. Nay, there are
 some, who have gained immortal Credit,
 only by drinking a Health; and whilst
 they have wished Confusion to their Ene-
 mies in a Bumper, have extremely ingra-
 tiated themselves with their Friends. If
 a Man breaks a Head of different Senti-
 ments, he is regarded as a Hero; and if
 he has his own broken, as a Martyr in
 the Cause. Not a few have secured a
 Reputation, by declaiming in Coffee-
 Houses, and as many have passed for
 Statesmen, by railing at the Times: An
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Invective against the Ministry proves a Panegyrick to the Author: And by aspersing the Character of a great Man, a Man often becomes Great. Since therefore the Way to Fame does not, as heretofore, lay thro' the Temple of Virtue, but there are many other Passages to it, through which Politicians can only be conducted by Zeal and Clamour, what Wonder is there if every ambitious Man provides himself with those Guides?

I know not if I ought to mention another Advantage of political Zeal, that it has been found the surest Step to Preferment: For if Desire of Fame will not inspire our Politician, can it be expected that he will be influenced by so low a Consideration as Interest? He proceeds on more generous Motives, and the Good of his Country is his only Principle of Action. How maliciously then it is insinuated by many, that he

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has nothing but selfish Views? Have we not seen, say they, this Man declaim against a White Staff, in order to obtain it? And that lament the Danger of the Church, until he has been advanced to the Mitre? Do we not owe many warm Speeches in both Houses to Hopes, and many more to Disappointments? Does not one speak to be encouraged to speak again, and another to be tempted to hold his Tongue? I must confess, as we live in a Country where a generous Zeal often meets with a suitable Reward, there is some Colour for such Insinuations; but on a strict Examination, we shall find no real Foundation for them. We cannot search into Mens Hearts for the Motives of their Actions, and must therefore depend on their Professions, as the best Evidence we can get. Did ever any Man declare, that he was zealous only to get a Place? Or when he ac-

cepts a Place, that it is out of Self-Interest? Does he not, on the contrary profess, that it is either to prevent its falling into worse Hands, or to serve his Country and his Friends? We must therefore conclude, that Preferment is not the Cause of his Zeal, but Zeal the Cause of his Preferment.

It is another Advantage to the Politician, that he can never want Business or Discourse. It is a melancholy Consideration to think, how heavy the Time would hang on many an honest Gentleman, if he had not an Opportunity of visiting the Coffee-House. This is an open *Asylum*, to which he may at all Times fly for Refuge; and pass many Hours agreeably, in which he might otherwise be a Burthen to himself, or a Plague to his Family. Here he can sit at Ease, and dispose of the World at Pleasure. If there is

nothing to reform at Home (which seldom happens) he can send his Thoughts abroad into the Continent: And if *Europe* is at Peace, can carry on his Conquests in other Quarters of the World. He can, when he pleases, restore the *Sophy*; or dethrone the Emperor of *Morocco*. If he is in an ill Humour, he can stir up the *Turk* against *Christendom*, and kindle a religious War. He can raise an Army, or equip a Fleet without Expence, and gain a Victory without Bloodshed. When he has collected a Number of Facts, which want Confirmation, and raised suitable Speculations on them, he is prepared to satisfy the Curiosity of the next Man he meets. With such a Knowledge, many eminent Politicians support their Character, who would make but a despicable Figure without it: For as they are generally not bred to any Business or Profession, unacquainted

quainted with all Parts of Learning, and Enemies to Reading, they would want Materials for Discourse; and their Conversation would rise no higher, than an Enquiry after a Friend's Health, or some notable Remarks on the Barometer. But now, ask a Politician what News (which is a Question rarely omitted) it opens a Field of Discourse, which cannot soon be run through; it gives a Man an Opportunity of shining, who must otherwise sit silent; and makes a Cypher in the World a diverting Member of Society.

I must not pass over in Silence the Numberless Advantages of a political Spirit to the Fair Sex in particular. It in some Measure diverts their Thoughts from Trifles, as Fashion, Dress, and Equipage, which are very expensive: And frees them from the Care of Domestic Concerns, which is too mean a

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Province for Ladies of Distinction. It takes them off very much from reading Plays and Romances, which are apt to inspire them with warm and tender Sentiments, and lay them too open to the Attacks of *Cupid*. I must therefore beg Leave to congratulate, all Fathers and Husbands on the Felicity of these Times; when Love Intrigues are less studied, than Intrigues of State; when the *Craftsman* is more read than *Atalantis*; when *Cassandra* sells for Half Price; and when *All for Love* is not got by Heart, by above ten Thousand Ladies in this Island. Politicks are likewise serviceable, as they have retrenched private Scandal; and by being received at the Tea-Table, have contributed to preserve a good Understanding among Neighbours. The Ladies are often so busy in attacking a Minister of State, that they spare a Husband or a Wife; and are so taken
up

up in censuring publick Miscarriages, that private ones sometimes escape their Notice. I am persuaded in my Conscience, that many a Reputation is now owing to the lucky Arrival of a *Dutch Mail*; for the Fair Sex are at present as solicitous to know what passes at *Soissons*, as either in the Drawing-Room or *Ridotto*. Another Advantage of a publick Spirit (and which the Ladies themselves must allow not to be a small one) is, that it improves their Charms. A Woman is never so amiable, as when she engages in a political Dispute: If she is ever so pale, she has no Occasion to put on Red; or if she is in her Decline, her Eyes sparkle, and she appears in the Bloom of Fifteen: Nay, I have sometimes known a Paragraph in the News-Paper as great a Beautifier, as any recommended in the Advertisements. But the greatest Advantage of all is, that

Ladies

Ladies are often directed by their Politics in the Choice of a Husband. They are so heroick, as to neglect the Considerations, which engage vulgar Minds, when they come in Competition with the publick Good. Some Lovers have ingratiated themselves by maintaining passive Obedience; and others have been rejected for being Friends to Episcopacy. There have been Instances, where Ladies have been more taken with a Man's Party, than his Person, and have been less concerned whether a Man was Black or Fair, than whether he was a Whig or Tory: Zeal has often succeeded, better than Merit or Fortune; and Clamour has supplanted good Humour, Manners, and Sense: Nay, sometimes Men of unsound Constitutions have recommended themselves by the Soundness of their Principles. By such a prudent Choice, the Ladies cut off all political

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Disputes with their Husbands ; and are left liable only to those private Contentions and Misfortunes, which disturb the matrimonial State.

I shall now, to make good my Promise to the courteous Reader, present him with some of those Advantages, which redound to the Community from this Spirit of Policy in my Countrymen.

In the first Place, I may venture to affirm, that the publick Revenue is exceedingly increased by it: Nay, I had almost said, that it is the principal Fund from which it arises. It is this which enables us to maintain our Fleet and Army, to pay the Interest of our publick Debts, and gives us Hopes of discharging the Principal, by the Increase of the sinking Fund. And this, I think, may be made out, even to a

Demonstration, by considering how several Branches of the Revenue are improved by it. The Custom and Excise on Liquors rise in Proportion to the Consumption of them, and their Consumption is exceedingly increased by the publick Spirit of the Nation. As Drinking is the common Way of signaling a Man's Loyalty, it is amazing to reflect on the Quantities of Wine and strong Beer, that are yearly consumed that Way. There are many Days in a Year more particularly distinguished by drinking Loyal Healths, and giving Ale in great Quantities to the Populace, as may be proved by many authentick Accounts in Print, sent all over the Kingdom by the worthy Gentlemen who gave it. These are principally Days of Thanksgiving, or Inauguration; the Birth-Days of Princes now living, or of Princes long since dead; the *Twenty-ninth of May*,
and

and the *Fifth* of *November* ; for it is with infinite Pleasure, I now observe, that the *Thirtieth* of *January* and *Tenth* of *June* are no longer regarded as Days of Thanksgiving, nor is there any extraordinary Consumption of Liquor upon them. But the great Solemnities of these Days, do not hinder honest Patriots from expressing their Loyalty every Day, by swallowing capacious Bowls : Is there a true Son of the Church, that does not constantly after Dinner wish Prosperity to it in a full Glass ? Or is there any that with well to the Kingdom, that do not drink their Majesties Health in a Bumper ? A numerous Royal Family is our great Blessing and Security, and People have not been wanting in Expressions of Joy : And I cannot but reflect with Pleasure, that both the Customs and Excise must have produced considerably more since his Royal Highness's

happy Arrival in the Kingdom. It may be needless to insist on the Quantities of Liquor daily drank to great Men in Power, and to great Men discarded; and much more that is sacrificed to Prosperity of Friends, and Confusion of Enemies. But the Time of the greatest Consumption is a controverted Election: For few find themselves in a right Temper to choose a Legislator, until they have drowned their Understandings; and it is incredible how much a Freeholder, or Scot and Lot Man will swallow, when they drink at free Cost, and are warmed by a clamourous Zeal for the excellent and generous Patriot that entertains them. There is likewise much Liquor consumed in settling the Nation, and carrying on political Disputes in private: A Country Parson, or Squire, debates best over a Pot of Ale; and a Common Council-Man over a Bottle of
Port:

Port : But the Beaux find *French Claret* most useful in their Speculations : This Politician composes his Thoughts with a Dish of Tea or Coffee ; and that enlivens them with a Dram : Another is not ready to enter on publick Business, until he takes a Pipe, and never sees so clear as through a Cloud. As the publick Revenue is raised in all these Particulars, for as political Conversations are frequently continued until late at Night, the Produce of the Duty on Coals and Candles is considerably augmented. It may seem too frivolous to affirm the same of the Duties on Soap and Leather, though I think it cannot well be denied ; for a Politician cannot decently make his Appearance in Places of publick Resort, without a clean Shirt ; and he must necessarily wear out his Shoes, in bearing the News he picks up there, to other Quarters of the Town. It is obvious
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to every one, that great Part of the Stamp-Duties arise from *Daily* and *Weekly Papers*, published for the Entertainment of our modern Statesmen; and that the *Post-Office* receives no small Benefit, by dispersing them through His Majesty's Dominions. I could produce many more Instances of this Kind, but I leave every Reader of Parts to suggest them to himself: By these few he may sufficiently see, that publick Spirit is a publick Benefit, and that the Figure *Great Britain* makes Abroad, is owing to the Figure its Politicians make at Home. If I had not entered too precipitately on this Work, I would have imployed an ingenious Friend of mine to have made a nice Calculation of the Improvement in each Branch of the Revenue, arising from Zeal and Curiosity; which would have swelled this Treatise to a more graceful Size, and

and have been very diverting and instructive to the curious Reader.

But having, I fear, almost tired his Patience, by insisting so largely on this great and undeniable Advantage to the Publick, I resolve to make him some amends by being more concise on those that follow.

Politicks are useful to the State, as they afford a comfortable Subsistence to those, who could gain no Livelyhood by any Trade or Profession; and as they find Employment for many idle People, who would otherwise be a useless Load on Society. I would not be misunderstood to hint at any of the Politicians themselves; but at Numbers of Vintners, Alehouse-keepers, Coffee-men, Tapsters, Drawers, Printers, Hawkers, and *Grub-street* Authors, who may be looked upon as the meni-

al Servants and Attendants to the Body Politick of the Nation.

It is another Advantage of Politicks, that they have a good Effect on the Genius and Temper of the People. It is a general Complaint of Foreigners, that we are too reserved in Conversation; but were they to hear us talk Politicks, they would soon change their Opinion: Start but a Subject relating to the Conduct of the Court, the Parliament or Ministry, or to the State of the Nation in general, and an *Englishman* shall discourse with much greater Freedom, than any other Native of *Europe*. I am fully persuaded, that Politicks are likewise a great Security to the Lives of his Majesty's Subjects: By stirring the animal Spirits, and quickening the Circulation of the Blood, they disperse Melancholy, and convert it into Rage; and prevent the
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Fate of many phlegmatick Persons, who would hang themselves in the Winter for want of something to do. On this Account I have often thought it a fortunate Circumstance, that the Parliament meets in the dullest Season of the Year.

Again, Politicks are beneficial, as they prevent the Invention or Improvement of many useles Arts and Sciences. Men are so taken up with this important Business, that they have no Time to think of any Thing else. Yet I cannot forbear imagining to my self, if there were no Politicks in the World, how the honest Gentlemen, who have no other Calling, must have passed their Time in it. Certainly Persons of such active Genius could not have lain idle. Many, who are now prying into Secrets of State, would perhaps have been as busy in examining the Secrets

of Nature. Instead of remarking the Colours that Statesmen put upon their Actions, they would have imployed their Speculations on a Butterfly: And, instead of considering the Constitution in all its Parts, would have been cutting up a Dog, or sticking a Flea on a Microscope. Some, who are contriving Schemes to raise Money, would have been searching after the Philosophers Stone. Those, who compute the publick Debts, would have been calculating the Distance to the fixed Stars. And others, who are proposing Methods to pay them off, would have been finding out a Conveyance to the Moon. And thus many a great Politician would have dwindled into a Virtuoso. It is highly probable, that several who are for hunting down Ministers of State, would have given Chace to a Fox; and that the most clamorous against the Administration, would

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have

have made as much Noise after a Pack of Hounds. As to political Writers, whether in Prose or Verse, I fancy they would still have been Writers, though their Talents must have been employed on different Subjects. What is now a Copy of Verses to a great Man might have been an Ode to *Cloe*: An Epistle Dedicatory a *Billet-Doux*: A treasonable Ballad a drunken Catch: An Invektive against the Ministry a Satyr against a Rival: A *Weekly* or *Country Journal* a Sermon in the Country. It may also be reckoned amongst the Advantages of Politicks, that they have prevented the Growth of Poetry, which is the Daughter of Idleness, and hindered many a bold Adventurer from breaking his Neck from the Summit of *Parnassus*. Who knows but that some Politicians might have applied themselves to Musick or Painting, which too much soften and

enervate the Mind ; or to Architecture, which has ruined several, who thought they understood it. As Politicks have been serviceable in supplanting such trifling Arts, so I must confess they have stopped the Progress of many others which are really useful: Such as Gardening, Agriculture, Mathematicks, and Mechanicks: But useful as they are, I think them nothing, when they come in Competition with that great and generous Science of governing the World, and taking Care of the Interest of the rest of Mankind. And I am glad I am supported in this Opinion by so great an Authority as *Virgil*; who speaks slightly of all other Arts and Sciences, when compared to Politicks, which he recommends to his Countrymen in the following beautiful Lines; which are worthy to be remembered by all Politicians; but which, I fear, will not be understood by one

one Politician in ten Thousand in this Kingdom.

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra:

Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus:

Orabunt causas melius: cœlique meatus

Describent radio: Et surgentia fidera dicent:

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:

Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,

Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos.

I ask the Reader's Pardon for dwelling so long on this Head; and if he will excuse me, I promise faithfully to mention but one more Advantage of Politicks to the Publick, which is the Numberless fine Writings which the Age has seen on that inexhaustible Subject. It is sufficient to name only
some

some general Titles, and the Reader will recollect many of each Kind. Such are *Letters to a great Man, to a Member of Parliament, to a Friend in the Country; Reflections on some late Occurrences; Secret Histories; Private Memoirs; Mercuries and Journals.* All these Writings are very prolifick, and like Contradictions beget one another: Like Persons of Quality, they never appear in Publick without a numerous Train of Attendants: Observations are followed by Remarks; and Considerations by some further Considerations: They multiply like the Heads of *Hydra*; for an Author is no sooner cut down in an Answer, than he rises up again in a Reply. As most of these Papers are Written with great Judgment and Erudition, Impartiality and Temper, they have contributed to make us not only the most knowing and unprejudiced, but the most

most loving, charitable, good natured and contented People on the Face of the Earth. When I am considering political Writings as a publick Benefit, I might seem inexcusable, if I omitted to mention one of the finest Pieces this or any other Age has produced, I mean the present Treatise: As I am conscious to my self that it proceeded intirely from a publick Spirit, and was undertaken with no other View, than the Good of my Country, so in my Opinion it will be no small Advantage to the Publick. My Bookseller is so firmly convinced of this, that he thinks it ought to be read by every Person in *Great Britain*.

I thought to have concluded here; but I find the *Scribendi Cacoethes* strong upon me, and cannot lay aside my Pen, without adding an Appendix: As I am a Politician, I have a Right to advise
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my Brethren: And I think my self as capable of giving good Advice, as they are of receiving it. I hope they will not take it ill of me, since I protest sincerely, it does not proceed from Vanity, but from pure Love and Kindness. The Advice which I offer, shall be contained in a few Rules for the better Regulation of Politicks in this Kingdom.

First of all, I would by no Means extinguish that Zeal, and generous Concern for their Country, which our Politicians bear in their Breasts, and which I have so much commended throughout this Treatise: I would only advise them to moderate it in such a Manner, that it may not break out into indecent Rage, and transgress the Bounds of good Manners. I never knew this have any good Effect. I never knew a Man convinced by being called Rascal, or made a Convert by a broken

broken Head. If my Brother Politician is also a Brother Writer; I would advise him to keep close to his Subject, and avoid personal Reflections; Let him not turn Remarks on a Man's publick Conduct into Remarks on his private Life: Or if he is engaged in Controversy, let him attack the Author, but spare the Man. Instead of this, in many Pamphlets, you find least of the Subject promised by the Title Page; but the Matters most largely insisted on are either some personal Blemish, or some Misfortune in a Family. This is a Proceeding so vile and detestable, so cowardly and ungenerous, that it reflects more Dishonour on the Author, than the Person against whom his Malice is levelled: And a Reader, who can be diverted with it, must be a Man of as mean a Spirit as himself.

In the next Place, I would advise our Politicians not to call a Man Names, either to his Face, or behind his Back : I do not mean *Billingsgate* Names (which the most refined Politicians reject) but such political Names, that are commonly used, yet seldom or never understood in Conversation. Perhaps they may say they are Terms of Art, which are as necessary in Politics, as any other Science : I do agree indeed that they are Terms of Art, but cannot allow that they have any good Use. They are Terms of Art, for they were first invented, and have ever since been propagated, by artful Men : They are Terms of Art, by which the Wicked impose upon the Weak, and the Designing mislead the Well-meaning Part of Mankind. But it moves my Indignation most, when I see an empty Fellow raising a Merit to him-

himself, or endeavouring to fix an Odium on his Neighbour, from Names which he does not understand. Is there any Thing more unreasonable, than that Men should use Words in Company, before they know their Meaning; or be at Liberty to call a Man a Whig or a Tory, a Deist, Heretick or Free-thinker, when they cannot tell what is understood by those Expressions. It is but fair, that they should define their Terms before they produce them, or I do not see how any Man's Character can be vindicated: If the Name is explained, the Person to whom it is applied, will either own it, or intirely disclaim it; until it is explained, he can neither do one nor the other. I know not whether it most deserves our Pity, or our Laughter, to think how most of our honest Countrymen have been led away by such empty Sounds, without once examin-

ing their Meaning; and, instead of loving their Neighbour as themselves, have hated him worse than the Devil, for being they know not what. In short, a hard Name is as effectual an Instrument to destroy a Man's Reputation, as a Pistol to take away his Life: And did I wish a Man ill, I would take no other Method to deprive him of his Friends and Acquaintance, and ruin him in their good Opinion and Offices, than by new Christening of him. Suppose for once a Man was constantly to call another *Bucephalus*; what would his Neighbours think of him? Some would imagine he had poisoned his Father, or debauched his Sister; others that he had killed a Man, robbed a Church, forgot the Lord's Prayer, denied the Creed, been Tete a Tete with Old Nick, had kissed the Pope's Toe, or had laid with the Parson's Wife: What is there so monstrous

stuous or scandalous, that they would not place to the Account of *Bucephalus*? His Case would be much the same with that of poor Mr. *Sharper*, who lost a great Fortune, by his Rival's calling him *Sharperini*. But, Heaven be praised, it may be reckoned one of the greatest Blessings of his Majesty's auspicious Reign, that Party Distinctions are vanishing amongst us. It is near two Years since I heard the Name of a *Jacobite*, and I do not believe there are fifty in the whole Kingdom: The Words *Whig* and *Tory* are growing obsolete, and in a short Time will be as little understood as *Arabick*. For my own Part, I never understood them; as I never use them, I hope never to hear them; and I could heartily wish there was a Penalty on all, who offer to introduce them into Conversation: I am sure they have brought infinite

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Calamities on this Nation, and the Difuse of them is the only Thing that can make it happy.

The next Piece of Advice I give to Politicians is, not to be angry with any Man for his Opinion ; nor to fhun his Converfation on that Account ; and to believe, though he differs from them, that it is poffible he may be an honeft Man. I fear I fhall fcarce be credited in this laft Particular ; and if I am not, I difpair of making it out : For fhould I undertake to prove it, I fhould find it as difficult as to prove an Axiom in *Euclid*. I can therefore only recommend my own Example on parallel Occafions. I am but fhort my felf, but can converfe with a Perfon that is fix Foot high. I do not love Muftard, but have no Antipathy to a Man that does. I think *Uxbridge* the neareft Road

Road to *Oxford*, but if another thinks *Windsor* so, it does not give me the least Uneasiness: I may perhaps endeavour to convince him of his Mistake, but if he will not believe me, I cannot find in my Heart to be angry: E'en let him go by *Windsor* if he pleases, it is his own Affair and not mine: I see no Reason why I should think he intends to take a Purse on that Road; or why I should damn him and his to the Pit of Hell, for being such a Fool as to go out of his Way: I do not think all Rogues that go by *Windsor*, or all Honest, that pass through *Uxbridge*. Give me leave to say, that our political Disputes, which are carried to such Heights, are often of no greater Moment: They are generally no more than a Contest about a WAY. We all wish Prosperity to our Country, but we think it most likely to be obtained
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by our own Schemes : We all wish well to the King, but think some particular Persons more capable of serving him than others : We all wish to go to Heaven, but every Sect believe themselves in the fairest Path. Upon the whole, is it not more reasonable, that we should be pleased that we all propose the same Ends, than that we should be angry with each other for disagreeing about the Means ? Yet, they are such Trifles, that divide the World ; that keep People at a Distance all their lives, who, if once acquainted, would have the greatest mutual Esteem ; and who, if they were to compare Notes, might perhaps find they were of the same Opinion.

Lastly, I would advise our Politician, Not to be led by the Nose, like a Bear by a Chain : Nor like a Crab,

always to go o' one Side: Not to fawn and creep, nor yet to snarl or bark, like a Puppy: Not to stop one Ear; or blink with one Eye; and, (though like *Atlas* he supports the Weight of our World) if possible, to walk upright: Not to regard Mens Persons or Professions so much as their Actions: Not to believe some Men infallible, and others always in the Wrong: Not to flatter a Man because he is in Power, nor to believe ill of him for no other Reason: Not to treat the Proceedings of the Ministry, as ill-natured Criticks do Books; condemn them without reading; or read them, only to pick out their Faults, and not to do Justice to their Beauties. This Humour of censuring often betrays a Politician into manifest Absurdities and Contradictions. I remember some, when they imagined *Gibraltar* would be given

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up, declared it a Place of the greatest Importance; when they saw it well defended, they thought it not worth the Charge of keeping.

What can we conclude from their Discourse? Must we not believe they speak out of Prejudice or Interest, and want either Judgment or Sincerity. Happy would it be for this Nation, if every *Sancho* would not think himself capable of entering on a Government, but would leave the Direction of it to his Betters. The Laws have vested the Care of the Administration in His Majesty, and we have no Reason to doubt his Care: He has assured us from the Throne, that he has our Interest at Heart, and his Conduct will ever make good his Declarations: We have nothing to do, but quietly to enjoy the Fruit of those Princely Qualities,

lities, which will make us a great and glorious, and (if we are not wanting to our selves) a happy and contented People.

I shall add but one Word more; to beg, that Heaven would grant to every common Politician common Sense; that he may neither impose upon himself, nor be made the Dupe of others. This is the only Thing, that can insure his own Peace of Mind, or any lasting Repose to the Publick.

As I am sensible the Reader will like the last Sentence in this Pamphlet the best, I shall now oblige him, by bidding him Adieu.

F I N I S.

has been a very good thing for the
government and the people. It has
been a very good thing for the
government and the people.

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As I am sure you will be
the first to see the necessity of
this I shall now be obliged to
you to send me a few more

21 MAY 1951